

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

----- 107931

O P 241820Z JUL 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7345

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T GENEVA 4767

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJ: CSCE/ CONSULTATIONS ON ESSENTIALS

REF: GENEVA 4724

1. SUMMARY: NATO DELEGATION HEADS' CAUCUS AGREED JULY 24 THAT DANISH CHAIRMAN SHOULD SEND REPORT OF CAUCUS DISCUSSION OF CSCE ESSENTIALS TO DANISH MISSION TO NATO, FOR DISTRIBUTION TO NAC. STATEMENT OF US VIEWS, INCLUDING DRAFT TEXTS FOR BASKET III, WILL BE INCLUDED AS ANNEX TO THIS REPORT. END SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING DIFFICULT MEETING REPORTED REFTEL, WE UNDERTOOK VIGOROUS PROVATE CONTACTS WITH OTHER NATO DELS WITH A VIEW TO WORKING OUT SOME KIND OF AGREED

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CAUCUS PAPER FOR TRANSMISSION TO NAC, WHICH WOULD INCLUDE

US VIEWS AND SUGGESTED TEXTS. AS A RESULT OF OUR EFFORTS, NATO DELEGATION HEADS AGREED JULY 24 TO NORWEGIAN COMPROMISE PROPOSAL UNDER WHICH DANISH CHAIRMAN WILL WRITE, UNDER HIS OWN RESPONSIBILITY, A REPORT OF NATO CAUCUS DISCUSSION OF ESSENTIALS, BASED ON EC-NINE PAPER (USNATO 3900) AND US VIEW AS PRESENTED IN NAC AND IN GENEVA (MADRID 4339 AND REFTEL). CHAIRMAN'S REPORT WILL BE TRANSMITTED TO DANISH DELEGATION TO NATO, PROBABLY ON JULY 25, FOR DISTRIBUTION TO NAC. TEXT OF US PRESENTATION TO CAUCUS ON JULY 23 (SEE SEPTTEL), INCLUDING DEPARTMENT'S SUGGESTED TEXTS FOR BASKET III, WILL BE ATTACHED AS AN ANNEX TO THE CHAIRMAN'S REPORT. NINE PAPER NOT ATTACHED SINCE IT HAS ALREADY BEEN DISTRIBUTED AT NATO.

3. CHAIRMAN INDICATED HE WOULD MENTION IN HIS REPORT THAT COMMON DENOMINATOR FOR THIS AND FURTHER EXCHANGES OF VIEWS IS THAT DISCUSSIONS ARE FOR INTERNAL PURPOSES ONLY, AND ARE MEANT TO IDENTIFY WESTERN OBJECTIVES ON ESSENTIAL POINTS IN CSCE. HE WOULD NOTE THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO ATTEMPT TO DRAW UP AGREED TEXTS, BUT ONLY TO STATE VIEWS ON SPECIFIC POINTS RAISED BY NINE AND US CONTRIBUTIONS. IT WAS UNDERSTANDING OF MOST DELEGATIONS THAT CHAIRMAN'S REPORT WOULD BE USED AS BASIS FOR FURTHER CONSULTATIONS AT NATO DURING WEEK PRECEDING RESUMPTION OF CSCE NEXT SEPTEMBER. CHAIRMAN STATED HE WOULD INCLUDE IN HIS REPORT ALL CONCRETE POINTS RAISED DURING DISCUSSION.

4. BEFORE PROCEEDING, FRENCH REP, SUPPORTED BY UK AND CANADIAN REPS, RECALLED THAT THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT BETWEEN US AND OTHER ALLIES ON NEED TO SET OUT ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS, OR ON CONVEYING THESE TO THE SOVIETS. SUCH A LIST COULD ONLY BE DRAWN UP AFTER A FIRST READING OF EXISTING WESTERN TEXTS. ALL THESE BASIC QUESTIONS HAVE YET TO BE DECIDED. FOLLOWING GENERAL AGREEMENT ON PROCEDURE, CAUCUS HELD BASKET-BY-BASKET DISCUSSION OF SPECIFIC POINTS IN NINE AND US PAPERS. VIEWS EXPRESSED ARE SUMMERIZED BELOW.

5. BASKET I (PRINCIPLES)-NORWEGIAN REP SUGGESTED WEST SHOULD PRESS FOR CONTINUED STUDY OF SWISS PROPOSAL FOR A
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SYSTEM ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES. FRG REP ASKED IF US HAD RECEIVED A REPLY FROM GROMYKO ON TEXT AND PLACEMENT OF LANGUAGE ON PEACEFUL CHANGES OF FRONTIERS. FRG ALSO WONDERED WHAT WERE "EDITORIAL CHANGES" US MIGHT SUGGEST IN NINE PAPER'S SECTION ON BASKET I. FRENCH REP SAID IT WAS OF INTEREST TO FULL WESTERN GROUP IF A SOUNDING HAD BEEN MADE ON PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE WITH SOVIETS. IF THERE WAS ANY INDICATION THAT LANGUAGE WAS ACCEPTABLE

TO ALL, IT SHOULD BE TABLED PRIOR TO THE SUMMER RECESS. ITALIAN REP CAUTIONED THAT SUCH ACTION WOULD BE PREMATURE, SINCE WESTERN GROUP HAS NOT YET AGREED AMONG THEMSELVES ON PLACEMENT OF PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE. ITALIAN REP ALSO INDICATED THE PROTECTION OF QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS, WHILE IMPORTANT, SHOULD NOT FIGURE AS A NATO "ESSENTIAL," SINCE IT IS IN A DIFFERENT CATEGORY.

6. BASKET I (MILITARY)--WHILE AGREEING THAT CON-SULTATIONS ON MILITARY ASPECTS SHOULD BE CENTRALIZED AT NATO, BELGIAN REP NOTED THAT NATO CAUCUS OF MILITARY EXPERTS HAD AGREED TO REFER TO CAPITALS A NEW PROPOSAL FOR COMPROMISE ON PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS (SEE SEPTTEL), AND THIS SHOULD ALSO BE CONSIDERED AT NATO. FRG AND NORWEGIAN REPS AGREED THAT MILITARY CAUCUS SHOULD MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO DISCUSSIONS IN BURSSELS. NORWAY THOUGHT US PAPER (MADRID 4339) HAD A GOOD SECTION ON CBMS. THRESHOLD FOR NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS SHOULD BE AS LOW AS POSSIBLE, AND 20,000 MEN MAY BE TOO HIGH. TURKISH REP INDICATED ONE OF TURKEY'S ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS WOULD BE THAT AMPHIBIOUS AND AIRBORNE FORCES BE TREATED EQUALLY WITH LAND FORCES UNDER CBMS.

7. BASKET II--TURKISH REP THOUGHT IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL TO HAVE SATISFACTORY LANGUAGE ON EUROPEAN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN FINAL BASKET II TEXTS. FRG REP INDICATED NINE WOULD NOT FINALIZE THEIR VIEWS ON BASKET II OBJECTIVES UNTIL MEETING PLANNED FOR SEPTEMBER 5-6 IN PARIS. HE SUGGESTED WAITING UNTIL THEN BEFORE CONSIDERING BASKET II IN NATO GROUP.

BASKET III--NETHERLANDS REP NOTED THAT ONE ESSENTIAL--THE BEGINNING OF AN OPENING OF FLOW OF INFORMATION INTO EASTERN EUROPE--WAS NOT EVEN MENTIONED BY US. THIS WOULD HELP TO PROVIDE SOME GUARANTEE AGAINST RESUMPTION OF COLD
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WAR. FRENCH REP ASKED IF PARAGRAPHS 8-10 OF NINE PAPER (USNATO 3900) WERE ACCEPTABLE TONON-NINE ALLIES, AS GENERAL APPROACH TO INTRODUCTORY PASSAGES FOR BASKET III. NON-NINE REPS INDICATED THESE PARAS WERE ACCEPTABLE, BUT CANADIAN REP SUGGESTED THAT CSCE SHOULD NOT TRY TO ESTABLISH RULES OR NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT. FOR CANADIAN DEL, ONE ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENT OF A GENERAL NATURE WOULD BE THAT THE WEST SHOULD NOT ACCEPT ANY FORMULATION IMPLYING THAT ANY PART OF BASKET III REQUIRES INTER-GOVERNMENTAL AGREEMENTS IN ORDER TO BECOME VALID. CANADIAN REP ALSO SUGGESTED THAT SOME STATEMENT ON FREEDOM OF TRAVEL WITHIN COUNTRIES (AS OPPOSED TO TRAVEL ACROSS FRONTIERS) WOULD ALSO BE REQUIRED, ALTHOUGH PRESENT BELGIAN TEXTS ON THIS SUBJECT ASK FOR TOO MUCH. HORWEGIAN REP EXPRESSED SATISFACTION WITH US SUPPORT FOR NORWEGIAN PAPER ON MARRIAGES, AND THOUGHT US PAPER ON

TRAVEL WAS MORE REALISTIC THAN EXISTING BELGIAN PAPER. NORWAY IS ALSO INTERESTED IN A GOOD TEXT ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS. POINT ONE OF US PAPER ON THIS SUBJECT WAS TOO WEAK AND SHOULD CONTAIN AN ELEMENT OF AUTOMATICITY. POINT FOUR OF THIS PAPER WAS TOO SWEEPING AND SHOULD BE MORE SPECIFIC. CANADIAN REP AGREED WITH NORWAY, BUT NOTED THAT FIRST POINT OF US PAPER ON JOURNALISTS COVERED SOMETHING WHICH NINE PAPER HAD NOT EVEN MENTIONED, AND WHICH WAS HIGHLY DESIRABLE. FRG REP WELCOMED US CONTRIBUTION ON BROADCAST INFORMATION, WHICH HAS SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE FOR US. FRG SUPPORTED NORWEGIAN VIEWS ON PAPER ON JOURNALISTS, ESPECIALLY SINCE THIS TEXT WILL INFLUENCE ATTITUDE THE PRESS WILL TAKE TOWARD CSCE. FRENCH REP SAID HE ASSUMED US PAPER ON CULTURE WAS ATTEMPT TO COVER ONLY ONE ESSENTIAL POINT, AND THAT THERE ARE OTHER ESSENTIALS UNDER THIS SUBJECT. FRENCH REP THOUGHT IT MIGHT IN ANY CASE BE POSSIBLE TO GET A BETTER TEXT ON LIBRARIES AND READING ROOMS.

9. COMMENT: WHILE WE REALIZE THAT THIS DISCUSSION WAS NOT AS FULL AS THE DEPARTMENT HAD HOPED, AND THAT THE AGREED DEVICE FOR REPORTING BACK TO THE NAC DOES NOT MEET OUR OBJECTIVE OF COMING TO AGREED NATO TEXTS, WE BELIEVE IT IS THE BEST RESULT WE COULD EXPECT IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. THE NATO CAUCUS REPORT WILL INCLUDE OUR SUGGESTIONS FOR TEXTS AND CAN BE USED AS A BASIS FOR FURTHER CONSULTATIONS IN NATO. WE DO NOT BELIEVE OUR ALLIES ARE PREPARED TO GO
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ANY FURTHER AT THIS TIME, AND WOULD RECOMMEND THAT WE ADJUST OUR PROPOSED SCHEDULE TO FIT THEIR STRONGLY HELD VIEWS. OUR ALLIES MAY BE MORE WILLING TO MOVE TOWARD DEFINITION OF ESSENTIALS AND DRAFTING OF MORE MODERATE TEXTS IF WE CAN MEET THEM HALFWAY ON MODALITIES AND TIMING. END COMMENT.ABRAMS

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NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COLLECTIVE SECURITY, MEETING AGENDA, HUMAN RIGHTS, BASKET III, MEETING PROCEEDINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 JUL 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974GENEVA04767
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740200-0782
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740722/aaaaasxs.tel
Line Count: 207
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: GENEVA 4724
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <08 APR 2002 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <24 JUN 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE/ CONSULTATIONS ON ESSENTIALS
TAGS: PFOR
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005